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## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 17, 1976

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## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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 REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2. 4.2.1, 2  
 DATE OF REVIEW 5/17/2006  
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ENCLOSURE

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## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has conducted a full investigation of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and has obtained information giving reason to believe the SWP and the YSA are or may be involved in activities which involve or will involve the use of force or violence and which involve or will involve the violation of Federal law for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of the United States.

### A. Description of Organization

#### 1. Origin and history

The international Trotskyist-communist movement was founded in the 1920's by Leon Trotsky. With Lenin, he was a leader of the Russian Revolution long before Joseph Stalin rose from his relatively obscure position as an organizer of riots.

After Lenin's death in 1924, a struggle for power took place between Stalin and Trotsky. This struggle was waged around a question of policy. Trotsky argued that communism could not be established with any lasting success as an isolated phenomenon in one country alone. Therefore, he reasoned the communists had to work for a world revolution. Stalin, however, was firmly convinced that communism in one country, Russia, was feasible and that it was more important to secure communism at home first before attempting a world-wide revolution. Stalin was successful in swaying the Russian Politburo to his views.

Shortly after Lenin's death, Stalin rose to the position of General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party and used his position to undermine and isolate Trotsky, driving him from Russia into exile in Turkey. There Trotsky was so hounded by Stalin's agents that he was forced to flee to France.

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During his stay in France, Trotsky laid the foundation for a center of the worldwide Trotskyist movement. At a constituted assembly of 21 followers at Paris in 1938, the Fourth International (FI) was founded. The founders were a minor, but highly articulate, group recruited mostly from intellectuals who supported Trotsky's program of worldwide revolution and the establishment of "pure communism." The Trotskyists believed that Stalin had betrayed and misled the working-class movement and it was necessary for them to construct an alternate leadership on a world scale capable of leading the struggle for "pure communism." The organization was called the Fourth International (FI) primarily to distinguish it from the communist Third International which was directed from Moscow.

The roots of the Trotskyist movement in the United States date back to the summer of 1928, when United States Communist Party leader James P. Cannon, while attending the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, became converted to the ideas of Trotsky who had, by that time, broken with Stalin and who was espousing his own doctrine of worldwide "permanent revolution." Upon his return to the United States, Cannon became active in promoting the Trotskyist position within the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). This led to the expulsion of Cannon and a small group of his followers from the CPUSA in October, 1928.

This small Trotskyist faction took refuge in the Socialist Party and soon became embroiled in a battle for control of this organization. This also resulted in the ousting of Cannon and his followers from the Socialist Party. Thereafter, Cannon and his Trotskyist followers founded the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on January 1, 1938.

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The SWP has continued to function since that time and is currently the largest Trotskyist-communist organization in the United States. It was the first major Marxist-Leninist organization to oppose the CPUSA for the right to lead an American communist revolution.

At the time the SWP was founded, Trotsky was residing near Mexico City, where he had been granted asylum by the Mexican Government. The hatred between Stalin and Trotsky was irreconcilable. Trotsky was a constant threat to Stalin's power, and as Trotskyist groups were established in one country after another, the danger of counterrevolution loomed, as there were many Trotskyist sympathizers in Russia. From his sanctuary in Mexico, Trotsky continued his severe criticism of the Stalin regime, wrote his numerous dissertations, and directed his far-flung Trotskyist organizations until August 20, 1940, when he was assassinated by an agent of the communist secret police who was strongly suspected of having carried out Stalin's personal order.

The bloody feud between Stalin and Trotsky sowed seeds of bitter hostility between the Moscow-line communists and the Trotskyist communists. To the Trotskyists, Stalin had corrupted the original teachings of Marx and Lenin, while the Moscow-line communists charged the Trotskyists as being "splitters."

## 2. Objectives and major activities

The Constitution of the SWP in Article II states, "The purpose of the Party shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Government to achieve socialism."

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SWP maintains a youth arm called the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It was formed in October, 1957, and is currently headquartered in New York City. The constitution of the YSA, in Article II, states its purpose as follows: "The YSA is a nationwide revolutionary socialist youth organization, uniting young workers and students around the banner of socialism and dedicated to the building of a revolutionary movement which can lead the working people to socialism. The YSA bases itself on the principles of Marxism as developed by Lenin and Trotsky, and on the traditions of the American people, represented by such leaders as Sam Adams, Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips and Eugene Debs. We believe that socialism can be initiated only as a result of struggle of the working class and its allies against the capitalist exploiters, which culminates in the creation of a new type of state, a workers state."

In 1938, the SWP issued a "Declaration of Principles" which stated that the Party's goal is "the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own Workers State - the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "it is consequently the elementary and imperative duty of all workers and especially of the revolutionary party, to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally against any and every imperialist nation." (As quoted in a report of the Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives, titled "Communists in the Trotsky Mold," page 7, 1971).

The importance of the revolutionary party and of the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism are hallmarks of Trotskyism, which argues that while the Soviet Union is a "degenerate" workers state, subject to intensive criticism for its aberrant policies, it is nevertheless a workers state, which must be defended against its capitalist enemies.

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To achieve worldwide communist revolution, Trotsky, in 1938, founded an international communist organization called the Fourth International (FI), which continues to exist today with Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. The SWP, though effectively prohibited by the Voorhis Act from formal membership in the FI, maintains close fraternal ties with it, sends representatives to FI meetings and congresses and exercises considerable influence in FI councils. Pierre Frank, a leader of the FI, has described its connection with the SWP as follows: "The SWP was at that time (1938) the American section of the FI. The vote on the Voorhis Law in 1941 forbade any workers organization from adhering to an international organization. The SWP had to formally disaffiliate itself, but it has not ceased to vigorously remain faithful to the Trotskyist program." (Page 46, LaQuatrieme International, by Pierre Frank, as quoted in above-cited report by Committee on Internal Security, page 18).

In view of the association of the SWP with the FI, the objectives of the FI are pertinent here. A confidential source abroad reported in 1969, that Ernest Mandel, a leading FI functionary from Belgium, stated those objectives are: 1) a commitment to permanent revolution which derived directly from Leon Trotsky, 2) support for revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped world, 3) democratic centralism as a principle of organization and 4) a desire for the union and comradeship of the proletariat and its allies throughout the world. (S)

In recognition of the fact that positions and objectives of the FI are not controlling on the SWP (which does on occasion adopt a firm minority position against the FI decisions), a closer examination of current SWP positions is warranted.

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In August, 1973, the SWP held its National Convention, which is the highest decision-making body in the SWP, at Oberlin College, in Ohio. At that convention, attended by more than 1400 delegates and observers, decisions were made which included:

a. Opposition to FI encouragement of guerrilla warfare in South America, which SWP believed was premature.

b. Support for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam in its efforts to defeat imperialism, but opposition to political power for Vietnamese communists whom SWP regarded as "Stalinists."

c. Support for building mass revolutionary parties in Europe, along Trotskyist lines.

d. Support for the theory that the coming American revolution will be carried out by blacks, chicanos, feminists, farm workers, trade unionists, and all oppressed people within the framework of class struggle by the proletariat. The SWP rejected theories holding that women's liberation, gay liberations, student movements and the like were merely "peripheral" movements without real bases in the working class.

e. Support for a minority faction (which included SWP) of the FI in its efforts to win control of the FI at the next FI World Congress.

f. Greater SWP participation in United States election campaigns.

g. Support for SWP lawsuit against the government which demands that SWP be accorded all privileges of a legitimate political party.

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h. Emphasis on recruitment of youth through campus work and other techniques.

### 3. Size and structure

#### Membership

The current membership of the SWP is over 1000. The membership of the YSA is about 1250. Because some YSA members also are SWP members, the combined total of both organizations is estimated to be 2000.

On page A-1 of the "Washington Star-News," dated April 27, 1976, Peter Camejo, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is quoted as follows: "If you want to say how big is the support for our party, it's small. It's something on the order of 10 to 15 thousand people who really feel they are supporters of our party."

#### Chapters

The SWP constitution provides that the basic organizational unit is the "branch" of not less than 5 or more than 50 members. Where no branch exists, members have "at-large" status. The basic organizational unit of the YSA is called a "local." In addition, the YSA has organizations called "fractions" which are active on college and university campuses.

SWP has 27 branches in 22 cities with the following membership:

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<u>Branch</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Atlanta, Georgia	37
Baltimore, Maryland	16
Boston, Massachusetts	64
Chicago, Illinois	
North-West Branch	40
South Side Branch	30
Cleveland, Ohio	32
Denver, Colorado	23
Detroit, Michigan	40
Houston, Texas	37
Los Angeles, California	
Central East Branch	72
West Side Branch	44
Minneapolis, Minnesota	44 (estimated)
New Orleans, Louisiana	10 (estimated)
New York, New York	
Upper West Side	99
Lower East Side	83
Brooklyn	83
Jamaica, Queens	16
Oakland-Berkeley, California	44 (estimated)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	25
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	33
Portland, Oregon	16
Saint Louis, Missouri	27
San Diego, California	22
San Francisco, California	60 (estimated)
San Jose, California	25 (estimated)
Seattle, Washington	30
Washington, D. C.	32
Total	<u>1084</u>

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There are at-large members in Kansas City, Missouri, and Albuquerque, New Mexico. The branches in Baltimore, Jamaica-Queens, New Orleans, and San Jose were formed during the past year and branches are planned at Newark, New Jersey, and San Antonio, Texas.

As of December, 1975, the YSA National Office claimed a nationwide membership of approximately 1250 in 60 locals and on approximately 180 campuses.

#### Leadership

The governing body of both the SWP and the YSA is the National Convention. Between conventions, authority is vested in the National Committee which is elected at the National Convention. The National Committee directs the work of the organization and appoints subordinate officers.

The National Committee of the SWP currently has 33 members and 27 alternates. The national officers of the SWP at the present time are Jack Barnes, National Secretary, and Barry Sheppard, National Organizational Secretary.

There were 35 members and 30 alternates elected to the YSA National Committee at the National Convention held in Saint Louis, Missouri, December 28, 1974, to January 1, 1975.

The national officers of the YSA are the National Chairperson, National Organizational Secretary, and National Secretary.

The individual most directly involved in and responsible for the activities of these organizations at a local level is the "organizer." This individual is often a full-time paid employee of the organization who is transferred to a particular branch or local from headquarters.

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#### Publications

The SWP and YSA are involved in the following activities:

a. publication of "The Militant," a weekly newspaper with estimated circulation of 30,000 and which propagandizes the viewpoints of the SWP;

b. publication of "International Socialist Review," a monthly magazine supplement to "The Militant" which reflects SWP viewpoints;

c. publication of the "Young Socialist," normally a monthly but often a bimonthly newspaper which propagandizes the viewpoints of the YSA;

d. publication of the "Intercontinental Press," a weekly magazine which espouses the viewpoints of revolutionary Marxism and the Fourth International (FI) and is published by the SWP in New York City as part of their expression of fraternal solidarity with the FI.

e. operation of Photo-Comp Press, a printing firm in New York City; and

f. operation of "Pathfinder Press," formerly known as Merit Publishers, which publishes and distributes Trotskyist literature on a large scale.

#### Affiliations

SWP maintains YSA as its youth affiliate. YSA serves as the main source of recruitment into SWP. YSA maintains its National Office in New York City in the same building where SWP has its headquarters. All YSA leaders are currently members of the SWP.

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Through the YSA, SWP controlled two prominent antiwar groups, National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). Since the end of the war in Vietnam, NPAC and SMC have been inactive.

At the present time, the leaders of the YSA have decided to concentrate their efforts in behalf of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). It is their belief that the struggle against racism will be the issue having the same mass response as the antiwar movement of the 1960's. They expect to use the NSCAR as a fertile recruitment ground for new members, especially among black students, just as they used the SMC and NPAC during the Vietnam War years.

Through the NSCAR, the YSA will continue to expound their belief that the capitalist system spawns racism; that the only lasting solution to this problem is an alternative party to the Democrats and Republicans - the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In this regard, from now until the November elections, the YSA will actively participate in the 1976 SWP election campaign and propagandize in behalf of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

As a secondary field of concentration, the YSA leadership will attempt to exploit the severe economic crisis in this Nation. Here, again, they will equate the wide swings in the business cycle with an inherent weakness in our capitalist society and offer the SWP as an alternative.

The YSA and their parent organization, the SWP, are counting heavily on winning their Federal law suit that seeks a permanent injunction against the Government's "harassment" of their organizations. They anticipate that this suit will be adjudicated sometime in 1976, and until that time the YSA will continue its activity in behalf of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

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The PRDF is an ad hoc organization set up by the SWP-YSA to raise money and obtain publicity for the SWP's lawsuit against the United States Government.

The association of SWP with the international Trotskyist group named the Fourth International (FI) was outlined under Item A, number 2 above. The current position of the SWP with regard to the FI is contained in "The Decline of American Capitalism; Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" which was approved by the 26th National Convention of the SWP and appeared in a special issue dated November 7, 1975, of "The Militant." which states:

"The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

". . .

"The Socialist Workers Party is internationalist to its core. Not only are world developments shaping the coming struggles at home, but the American workers' enemies are the exploiters on a world scale. The perspective of the Communist Manifesto--'Workers of the world, unite'--remains our fundamental goal. While reactionary legislation precludes formal affiliation to the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, since its founding, has been an integral political component of the world party of socialist revolution."

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B. Bases of Investigation

1. Force and violence

The SWP is admittedly embarked on a revolutionary communist program with the aim of overthrowing capitalism and instituting a communist state. While it does not oppose the use of violence per se, it has opposed violence and guerrilla warfare as premature and counterproductive at the present time.

The basic philosophy of the Trotskyist movement is that only a violent revolution can destroy capitalism and that all political groups, other than their own, are counterrevolutionary and must be destroyed.

Although the SWP does not publicly advocate the use of violence at the present time, it maintains that eventual violent revolution is inevitable. It seeks to precipitate revolution when it perceives conditions to be ripe and to seize control of and direct the revolution when it occurs. The SWP is not known to have rejected the use of violent and illegal means to achieve its purposes. Rather, the information available indicates the SWP will use these violent and illegal means when it determines they are expedient.

Under certain circumstances, it feels it is the duty of the revolutionary to use violence to attain and retain power. For example, during the violent student riots in France during May and June, 1968, an organization known as Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI), which was affiliated with the United Secretariat of the FI, was in the forefront of the near revolution of that country. The youth movement most closely aligned with the PCI was the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire. The French Government, aware of the threat that these organizations posed to the internal security of the nation, banned both organizations in June, 1968. Following this, the headquarters of the FI moved from Paris to Brussels, where it is currently located.

On June 25, 1968, Peter Camejo, member of the SWP National Committee and current presidential candidate for SWP, appeared before Berkeley, California, City Council to advise that a demonstration was planned at 7:30 p.m., June 28, 1968, in Berkeley, California, for purpose of protesting "the oppression against our movement

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in France." Camejo stated that the rally would be held and if police arrived there would be a riot similar to that, as alleged by Camejo, caused by Berkeley Police Department when they broke up an unauthorized demonstration in April, 1966.

At the rally sponsored by YSA, Camejo called for confrontation with police if there was effort to move demonstrators. He said student movements were suppressed all over the world and that the demonstration was geared to solidarity at Berkeley with the French students.

When Berkeley Chief of Police declared the assembly unlawful, violence occurred. Following Camejo's appearance at the planned demonstration on June 30, 1968, when he urged demonstrators to demand their rights, violence occurred again, necessitating approximately 700 police officers to clear the streets and enforce a curfew. This riot resulted in 125 individuals arrested and damages estimated at approximately \$40,000.

More recently the SWP played a major role in the World Congress of the FI in Europe in 1974. The 1974 World Congress of the FI adopted a position favoring the current use of guerrilla warfare and armed struggle to achieve revolution in Latin America and elsewhere if local conditions indicated that such violence would enhance revolution. A majority of the SWP delegation to the FI World Congress opposed the current use of violence on the ground that such use is premature, and a minority of the SWP delegation favored the FI endorsement of violence. That minority group within the SWP which in 1974 supported the majority position of the FI on the use of current guerrilla warfare in Latin America and elsewhere is the Internationalist Tendency (IT). The SWP Discussion Bulletin for April, 1973, Volume 31, Number 1, contains the letter to the Political Committee of the SWP announcing the formation of the political group. It says in part: "We wish to make it quite clear that ultimately armed struggle (as the adjunct of the mass movement of the workers and peasants) will be the only way for the revolutionary victory in Latin America. The lesson of the necessity of arming the masses is one which must be driven home to counter the reformist influence of Stalinism and Social Democracy."

The SWP, in the summer of 1974, expelled most of the followers of the IT line claiming they were attempting to advance their views in secrecy within the SWP and had breached

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SWP discipline. The SWP alleged that the IT had become a party within a party. The FI majority group was very upset by this SWP action and exerted considerable political pressure on the SWP to reintegrate the expelled SWP members. The United Secretariat of the FI in the fall of 1975 was so concerned that it adopted a motion concerning this reintegration wherein it firmly condemned the attitude of the SWP for its delaying tactics and indicated that it regarded all the comrades of the IT who sought reintegration to be loyal militant Trotskyists whose desire was to become members of the FI.

The SWP has begrudgingly yielded to this pressure from the FI to reintegrate IT members. The SWP National Office in New York announced a policy in late 1975 to permit individual local SWP branches throughout the Nation to readmit expelled IT followers on terms agreeable to respective branch memberships. In keeping with this policy, some branches readmitted IT followers on probation to pay dues and regular sustainer fees, sell SWP publications, participate in SWP public activities and to attend SWP membership meetings. But, those taken in for reintegration will not have the right to vote on issues, to have any membership status, or to participate in meeting activities until the majority of the branch votes to reaccept the individual applicant. Some IT followers have been refused reintegration or have joined other Trotskyist groups. These maneuverings are an example of a degree of control of the SWP by the FI. Further, they show the SWP expelled the IT not for its support of violence and terrorism but for breaches of SWP discipline.

The Trotskyist press has been prolific and has reiterated the facts of its origins and its position on violence on a number of occasions. Following are some pertinent quotes on these subjects:

"The SWP as a revolutionary workers party is based on the doctrines of scientific socialism as embodied in the principal works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky...." (Quoted from "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder Press, 1972, at page.232.)

Regarding the Bolshevik party on which SWP is modeled, it is noted that Lenin described the task of that party as: "To place upon the order to the day armed

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insurrection in Petersburg and Moscow, conquest of power, overthrow of the government...." (Quoted from "The Russian Revolution," by Leon Trotsky, Doubleday Anchor Books, at page 266.)

SWP has stated that it is based on the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Karl Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto that "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Leon Trotsky, whose doctrines guide the SWP and YSA, wrote concerning means to be used in the revolution. Trotsky said, "the revolution does require of the revolutionary class that it should attain its end by all methods at its disposal - if necessary, by an armed rising; if required, by terrorism." (Quoted from "Communism, Basic Writings," edited by Anne Fremantle, a Mentor Book, at page 252.) Concerning the importance of Trotsky's declarations to the SWP it is noted that James P. Cannon, long-time leader of the SWP, said that SWP leaders took the words of Trotsky as Marxist authority. "For us," Cannon said, "there is no higher" (authority). (Quoted from "Socialism on Trial" by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder Press, at page-139.)

More recently, SWP leaders have commented concerning revolution and the role of their party. The SWP National Committee in March, 1971, adopted a report concerning the building of the SWP which stated that "It must be a mass revolutionary socialist combat party on the Leninist model...." (Quoted from "A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s, Documents of the Socialist Workers Party," Pathfinder Press, 1972, at page 92.) George Novack, an SWP theoretician, stated with respect to the "coming American revolution" that "it can be anticipated that the direct struggle for power between the armed camps will be exceedingly ferocious, hard-fought and protracted. It will require extraordinary efforts, tenacity and discipline to dislodge and dispossess the monopolist masters of America." (Quoted from "Democracy and Revolution," by George Novack. Pathfinder Press; 1971, at page 271.)

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The SWP newspaper "The Militant," in its issue of May 17, 1974, on page 25, includes an article by an SWP member which states that "The only model of a successful strategy for socialist revolution was that of the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917."

James P. Cannon, who was the founder and leader of the SWP until his death in 1974, stated "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it (social transformation) will be accompanied by violence." (Quoted from "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder Press, 5th Edition, 1973, at page 135.)

## 2. Violation of Federal law

In 1941, 18 leaders of SWP, including James P. Cannon, were convicted in Federal Court in Minnesota of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. 12 of these leaders were sentenced on December 8, 1941, to 16 months in prison and the other six were sentenced to a year and a day.

The SWP was cited in 1947 and 1958 by the then Attorney General as a subversive and communist organization which seeks "to alter the form of the Government in the United States by unconstitutional means."

More recently the predication used for investigation of SWP and YSA was that the investigation was based on information which indicated that SWP and YSA were engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, U. S. Code 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocate Overthrow of the Government); or Title 50, U. S. Code, 781-798 (Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954).

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There have been no recent prosecutions of SWP members. However, when SWP analysis of objective conditions progresses to the point where SWP believes that a revolutionary situation exists, SWP members would be expected to violate Federal statutes at that time such as those dealing with insurrection, conspiracy, sabotage, antiriot and advocating the overthrow of the Government. Thus investigation is being conducted so that the Government is aware of this decision when made. In this regard, the Supreme Court in Dennis v. United States, 341 U. S. 494 (1951), said the Government does not have to "wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid, and the signal is awaited."

### 3. Purpose of activities

One of the current SWP leaders and theoreticians, Joseph Hansen, has recently written: "In the 'Transitional Program,' Trotsky tells us that the establishment of dual power marks the culminating point of the transitional period, that is, the period between the prerevolutionary period to be seen in most parts of the capitalist world today and the revolutionary situation in which the masses reach a position to make a serious bid for state power. Associated with the establishment of dual power are a whole series of traditional measures such as the organization of committees and councils, the establishment of workers' militia and the arming of the masses to block the threat of a counterrevolutionary coup as the workers strive to win the majority needed to establish a workers' and peasants' government." (Quoted from "The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution" by Leon Trotsky with introductory essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack, Pathfinder Press, 1973, at page 36.)

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The "traditional measures" to which Hansen refers include the building and the strengthening of the party. This requires an enormous amount of work and discipline on the part of party members. This is the stage at which the SWP and YSA find themselves today. Towards this end Jack Barnes, a current leader of the SWP, has written: "... the very combat strength of the class enemy and its willingness to engage in combat defines the revolutionary party as a combat party. Otherwise there is no chance whatsoever of even considering the overturn of capitalism. By combat we do not mean only the struggle-- the insurrection-- that occurs at the height of a revolution or the battles at high points during the mass upsurge prior to it. The preparatory period for a revolutionary party is one of continual political confrontation with the ruling class and its agents, and of the continual bearing down of alien class pressures on the party's ranks. The ruling class is conscious enough of its interests to exploit any opportunity it sees to weaken the revolutionary party and to circumscribe its ability to function. To counter these maneuvers and to stand up to these pressures requires that the party be organized in a disciplined, combat manner throughout the entire period preparatory to the revolution." (Quoted from "Towards an American Socialist Revolution, A Strategy for the 1970s" by Jack Barnes, George Brietman, Derrick Morrison, Barry Sheppard, Mary-Alice Waters, Pathfinder Press, 1971, at page 124.)

Further, it is noted the SWP adopted a resolution at its convention in April, 1940, which stated: "The SWP, as a combat organization, which aims at achieving power in this country, models its organization, forms, and methods after those of the Russian Bolshevik party, adapting them, naturally, to the experience of recent years and to concrete American conditions."

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### C. Analysis of Investigation

#### 1. Consideration of factors

The harm threatened by the SWP and YSA is of the first magnitude. When such organizations seek the overthrow of the Government, activities in furtherance of this goal are directed at the foundation upon which all else rests. It is only reasonable that the Government do what is necessary to protect itself. To accept at face value the SWP's propaganda that it is a nonviolent group and a legitimate political party would be an abdication of governmental responsibility. The Government's right to investigate such revolutionary groups should be preserved.

The Supreme Court has recognized in numerous opinions that the Government not only has a right but has a duty to protect itself from destruction and to safeguard its institutions from violence and forceable overthrow. It has stated "We recognize that domestic security surveillance may involve different policy and practical considerations from the surveillance of 'ordinary crime'. The gathering of the security intelligence is often long-range and involves the interrelation of various sources and types of information. The exact targets of such surveillance may be more difficult to identify than in surveillance operations against many types of crime specified in Title III. Often, too, the emphasis of domestic intelligence gathering is on the prevention of unlawful activity or the enhancement of the Government's preparedness for some possible future crisis or emergency. Thus, the focus of domestic surveillance may be less precise than that directed against more conventional types of crime." United States v. United States District Court, 407 U. S. 297, 312 (1972).

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The likelihood that the threatened harm will occur is unclear. The SWP and YSA are seeking to overthrow the Government and believe that violence is inevitable. Thus, the Government should not abdicate its responsibility to monitor these groups. They have grown in size from the original defection of one member of the CPUSA to groups which total about 2000 members. This did not occur by happenstance but by dedication to party goals. One of these goals is the building of the party to a point that it is a political force. To this end the SWP and YSA are constantly propagandizing and soliciting new members. They run candidates for public offices all the way from local governmental positions to the presidency of the United States. They are engaged in the party building stage of their development. Trotsky referred to it as a "Transitional Program."

The long-range prospects are that SWP activities will be continued by dedicated SWP members who are, for the most part, now under 30 years of age.

The discipline which the SWP and the YSA exercises over their members is substantial. Both are rigidly structured organizations with strong central control from their national headquarters in New York City. They require acceptance of party doctrine which includes training in Marxist-Leninist doctrine before membership is granted. Members are required to pay dues periodically and to pay sustainer fees leveled on each branch by the national office. Some are assigned to hawk SWP and YSA propaganda organs on the streets or on campuses to raise extra funds or to meet the assessment levied on them by the national office. There is a structure within each branch office. These are all outlined in the SWP's

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constitution as are the requirements for membership. Members cannot move from one branch to another without the party's permission. Some members work full time for the party, are paid by the party, and are transferred by the party. Basic policy decisions for the party are made at a National Convention usually held annually. The day-to-day business of the party is handled by the National Committee whose members are elected.

The threat posed by the SWP and YSA is not an immediate one. It does not appear the SWP/YSA are about to take power but they are a continuing and growing threat. The main thing that they do well is to take over control and direction of larger essentially noncommunist groups such as they did in the "peace movement." In this way, they are able to influence local, national, and world events far beyond their small numbers.

An example of the Trotskyists' ability to infiltrate and control mass action groups was their control in 1971 of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). On June 19-20, 1970, the SWP and YSA held a conference in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of planning future antiwar activities. This conference resulted in the formation of NPAC to serve as the SWP/YSA action group in carrying out massive antiwar demonstrations by turning people out on the streets. Of the five national NPAC coordinators, four were affiliated with the SWP. The NPAC Steering Committee included representatives of several organizations dominated by the SWP and YSA. Foreign communist support for NPAC was reported in the July 3, 1970, issue of The Militant in the form of telegrams from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which hailed the NPAC conference for focusing on the demands for immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Southeast Asia and welcomed the "growing solidarity of the American and Vietnamese people in the fight for peace."

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NPAC, under the organization and discipline of the Trotskyists formulated plans for massive demonstrations in April, 1971, in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, California. They did not advocate violence, not because they abhorred violence but because they believed tactically it would be premature and "turn people off." Their plans called for educating and conditioning people toward participation in mass activities and demonstrations directed at ending the Vietnam War on terms favorable to the international communist movement. Tactically the Trotskyists were striving to increase the level of radicalization of the masses. When they decide the time is right they will move to more direct actions such as civil disobedience and ultimately violence. To increase their strength in the antiwar effort, the Trotskyists joined with other groups. This led in April, 1971, to one of the largest demonstrations in our Capital's history where an estimated 300,000 people demonstrated. The Trotskyists were able to assemble through NPAC the coalitions that brought about this demonstration. The NPAC activities were internationalized when the International Executive Committee of the FI met in Europe in early December, 1970, and issued a statement calling for support of the demonstrations to be held by NPAC in the United States on April 24, 1971. That massive demonstration for the most part was peaceful with some isolated incidents of violence reported. The organizational skill and discipline of the Trotskyists was demonstrated by the masses they were able to mobilize for that demonstration.

The importance of the FI has been carefully evaluated and not exaggerated in considering the overall threat of the SWP. The FI is an international group but is badly split by factionalism. There are, in fact, four distinct rival factions in the FI. Even the largest faction (the United Secretariat) is on the verge of further schism. A study of the FI during 1973 by the intelligence agency of the government of another country notes that the FI,

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though it is without wide appeal or a power base, has significance in view of its subversive potential and further because its adherents engage in sporadic militant actions which are sometimes violent. The United Secretariat faction of the FI, with which SWP is associated, is estimated by this agency to have overall numerical strength of 12,000. [A study of FI done by CIA in 1964 made the same evaluation of FI and predicted that the FI was not likely to play a major role in history at that time. This prediction appears still valid today. On the other hand, this CIA study points out reasons why FI activities should be noted. For example, many countries have an FI section which is locally effective, if only as a disruptive force. Some of the FI adherents, given the proper circumstances, can inflict considerable damage by themselves and can act in concert with other communist groups. It is this consideration, states the CIA study, which may make the FI more formidable than it appears on cursory examination.] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The SWP and YSA are continually searching for new issues to exploit such as the busing situation in Boston. One of the decisions made at the SWP National Convention at Oberlin, Ohio, in August, 1975, was that there should be increased SWP emphasis on doing work in the black community and recruiting black political activists, especially through the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). NSCAR's main goal seems merely to be to influence the school busing issue in Boston, Massachusetts. However, SWP/YSA members have infiltrated NSCAR and are exercising their influence to the extent YSA both nationally and locally is the major component of NSCAR.

The Government's right to investigate these groups through a full investigation creates some danger to privacy and free expression but must be weighed against the

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Government's right to protect itself against the harm which is threatened. By restricting the scope of the full investigation, the danger will be significantly reduced.

The Supreme Court has observed that, "unless Government safeguards its own capacity to function and to preserve the security of its people, society itself could become so disordered that all rights and liberties would be endangered." United States v. United States District Court, 407 U. S. 297, 312 (1972).

## 2. Scope of investigation

### Investigative techniques

Substantial live informant coverage of SWP and YSA activities exists and is generally effective. Coverage of the highest echelons is not sufficient at the present time but efforts are being made to advance pertinent informants into those echelons. When necessary, informant coverage is supplemented by techniques which would be permitted in preliminary and limited investigations.

There is no current mail cover or electronic surveillance and none is anticipated. Another useful technique is, of course, the regular review of SWP newspapers and other publications.

### Dissemination

Reports are disseminated, when appropriate, to interested agencies, including the Department of Justice, State, CIA, Secret Service, and DIA.

In view of the international character of the FI and its connection with SWP, periodic requests from and to foreign agencies for information relative to SWP and FI, as well as interchange of information between FBI and CIA, are necessitated.

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### Reporting

Reports concerning the organizations will continue to be submitted semiannually. Initial reports on leaders and members are evaluated to determine the need for further investigation, and thereafter, additional reports will be submitted annually or to meet dissemination requirements.

### 3. Recommendations

Because they are engaged in activities for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of the United States and because the activities will involve the use of force or violence and the violation of Federal law, it is recommended that full investigation be continued of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, their branches and locals, and the following leaders of these organizations:

- a) National Committee members, and alternates,
- b) branch and local organizers,
- c) editors of official publications, and
- d) other individuals (less than ten) who have been definitely established to be in a position to significantly influence the policies and direct the activities of the groups.

If the above recommendation is approved, additional investigations of individuals will be initiated based on allegations of involvement with these organizations. The purpose of such an investigation would be to fully identify the individual and to determine the nature and extent of his activities. The investigation would normally be completed at the preliminary or limited level unless it is determined that the individual is in a leadership capacity.

The above recommendation is made because the SWP and YSA are revolutionary parties - small, but well-organized, disciplined, and financed - dedicated to eventual communist revolution in the United States and heavily involved with a worldwide communist - Trotskyist movement. They are working continually to achieve

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conditions in which the revolution can begin. At the present, they give the appearance of using legal means; yet, it is clear in Marxist and Trotskyist ideology that illegal means will not be rejected when "objective conditions" are such that violence and illegal activity will aid, rather than harm, the desired revolution.

The factors, consideration of which are required by the guidelines in determining if a full investigation should be undertaken, have been considered in an effort to determine if investigation of these groups should be continued.

The magnitude of the threatened harm is great because the SWP and YSA seek the overthrow of the Government. The likelihood that the harm will occur and the immediacy of the threat are uncertain. The SWP, however, claims the conditions will soon be right for the revolution and is preparing for its role in it. Their 1975 document which considers the prospects for a socialist revolution contained in "The Militant" dated November 7, 1975, states:

"In the period now opening, we can clearly see the forces building on a world scale that will bring these conditions to maturity in the United States. But the central question, the one over which we will have a decisive say, is that of gathering together the forces that are committed to forging a revolutionary party in time."

The SWP and YSA, in order to gain acceptance and respectability in the United States, have been faced with many dilemmas to which they often have responded by making hypocritical and contradictory statements. On the one hand, both groups continue to profess belief in Trotskyism, which is based on the premise that communism cannot be established with lasting success in one country alone, while on the other hand, they deny formal affiliation with the Fourth International, the organization formed by Trotsky to work for world revolution. The SWP has found itself in the awkward position of disciplining its

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Internationalist Tendency for expressing a correct revolutionary viewpoint on force and violence so that the SWP could continue to project the image of being just another political party. The YSA supports the SWP candidates for elective office in the United States and also approves and publishes political resolutions such as contained on page 23 of the "Young Socialist Strategy for '72, Resolutions and Reports approved at the 11th Young Socialist National Convention," which states: "As revolutionary socialists, we harbor no illusion, nor encourage any, in the possibility of bringing about fundamental social change through the bourgeois electoral process."

The investigation of the SWP and YSA has been conducted to determine the true views of these organizations on key issues and to be in a position to know when the SWP decides the "objective conditions" have been met. Use of informants has been the most productive technique and should be continued. If the investigation would be closed, subject to being reopened whenever another allegation of illegal conduct by the SWP or YSA is received, effective informant coverage would not be available.

Any full investigation involves a degree of invasion of privacy and free expression. Informant coverage is the least intrusive investigative technique capable of producing the desired results, and no use of mail covers, electronic surveillance, or other sensitive techniques is contemplated. Thus, because of the specific facts and circumstances of this case, it is proposed that a full investigation be conducted but without using all of the techniques of a full investigation. This would be accomplished by restricting the scope of the full investigation as outlined above in Item C, number 2.

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A cursory examination of this investigation might lead one to believe that the FBI, like the SWP which it proposes to investigate, is faced with a dilemma. Swift described a similar situation when he said:

"A strong dilemma is a desperate case!  
To act with infamy, or quit the place."

The investigation outlined above avoids either extreme by proposing continued but reasonably restricted investigation of these organizations and their leaders.

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Appendix

For further information concerning Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance, the following books and publications, many published by the Socialist Workers Party, are recommended;

"An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism" by George Novack -- Copyright 1971 by Pathfinder Press, Inc., Third Printing 1973

"The First Ten Years of American Communism" by James P. Cannon -- Copyright 1962 by James P. Cannon

"A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s: Documents of the Socialist Workers Party" by Pathfinder Press, New York, First Printing, March, 1972

"The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon -- Copyright 1972 by Pathfinder Press, Second Edition, 1972

"Towards an American Socialist Revolution; A Strategy for the 1970s" by Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Derrick Morrison, Barry Shepard, and Mary-Alice Waters -- Copyright 1971 by Pathfinder Press, Inc., Second Printing 1972

"The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution" by Leon Trotsky -- Copyright 1973 by Pathfinder Press, Inc. First Edition, 1973

"What Socialists Stand For" by Stephanie Coontz -- Copyright 1973 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.

"Leon Trotsky Against Individual Terrorism" by Pathfinder Press, Inc., printed in April, 1974.

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"The Birth of American Trotskyism 1927-1929" by  
Jack Alan Robbins -- Copyright 1973 by Jack Allan Robbins

"Letters from Prison" by James P. Cannon --  
Copyright 1973 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.

"Speeches to the Party" by James P. Cannon --  
Copyright 1973 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.

"The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects" by  
Leon Trotsky -- Copyright 1969 by Merit Publishers, Fourth  
Printing 1974

"In Defense of Marxism" by Leon Trotsky -- Copyright 1973  
by Pathfinder Press, Second Edition 1973

"The Origins of Materialism" by George Novack -- Copyright 1965  
by Merit Publishers, Third Printing 1972

"Democracy and Revolutions" by George Novack -- Copyright 1971  
by Pathfinder Press, Inc., Second Printing 1972

"Notebook of an Agitator" by James P. Cannon -- Copyright  
1973 by Pathfinder Press, Inc., Second Edition 1973

"Speeches for Socialism" by James P. Cannon -- Copyright 1971  
by Pathfinder Press, Inc.

"Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership, and  
Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War  
in Vietnam and its Predecessor Organizations" Staff Study by  
the Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives,  
Ninety-First Congress, Second Session -- Prepared and released  
by the Committee on Internal Security -- U. S. Government  
Printing Office, Washington: 1970

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"The Assault on Freedom" A compendium of theoretical and policy statements by the communist movement, domestic and international, and by other organizations committed to the violent overthrow of free institutions -- Prepared for the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate -- Part I -- Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1971

"Communists in the Trotsky Mold" A report on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance by the Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives, Ninety-Second Congress, First Session -- U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1971

"The Nationwide Drive Against Law Enforcement Intelligence Operations" Hearing before the Subcommittee to investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session, September 18, 1975 -- U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1975

"Trotskyite Terrorist International " Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session -- Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1975

"Intelligence Activities, Senate Resolution 21" Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities of the United States Senate, Ninety-Fourth Congress, First Session, Volume 6, Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1976

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